3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Petersburg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia.

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges.

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof.

(3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was directly controlled by it. The number of persons able to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in

II NON-INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

197 Armenian is a separate branch of Indo-European, belonging to the Eastern (satem) group ; its closest relatives were probably Phrygian and Thracian, known only from a few inscriptions. The language has been strongly influenced by its non-Indo-European substratum (Chaldic, the language of the Urartu state). Besides Ossetian, also spoken in the Caucasus, Armenian is the only I-E language with a series of glottalic consonants; its lexicon abounds with non-I-E elements, and its morphology and syntax show [192] Caucasian influence. The language has furthermore borrowed so many words from Persian that it was regarded as an Iranian dialect until Hübschmann showed in 1883 that it represented an independent branch of I-E. The [212] oldest dated Armenian manuscript is from the ninth century; the literary tradition is four centuries older.

Ossetian is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian languages, to which also belong the Pamir dialects and Yagnābī, a descendant of Soghdian. It is the only survival of the Scytho-Sarmatian dialects, once spread over a vast area in the Eurasian steppe belt. The influence of the surrounding Caucasian languages is apparent in the existence of glottalic consonants, in the agglutinative technique of the morphology and in the lexicon.

III SCRIPT AND LITERACY

•212 Georgian is the only Paleocaucasian language with an ancient literary tradition and a script of its own. This script is well adapted to the language, each letter always expressing the same sound, and each sound always expressed by the same letter. The alphabet exists in two forms: the khuts'uri or "ecclesiastic" script with angular characters and both capitals and small letters, and the mkhedruli or "warrior" script with rounded letters and no capitals. The latter is the script now in use. The other S. Caucasian languages are not used for literary purposes, Georgian being the language of culture and education, though in private correspondence Mingrelian is sometimes written, with Georgian letters. The Georgian alphabet, with some added characters, has been used for non-Georgian languages (Abkhaz, Udi) and is at present the official script of the South Ossete AO (the North Ossetes use the Russian alphabet).

Armenian also has an alphabet of its own; as in the case of Georgian, the alphabet is perfectly adapted to the language. Until 1922, Azeri was written with Arabic characters. Kalmyk had its own script, which was in use until 1927.

Though a number of the smaller Caucasian languages were recorded by scholars in the nineteenth century, and there

212 were some isolated instances of native use of the Arabic script in publications, none had an established literary tradition at the time of the Russian revolution. Under the auspices of the Soviet government, alphabets were established for the more important languages; in most cases they were based on the Arabic script. In the course of the 1920's they were replaced everywhere by adaptations of the Latin alphabet, usually along the lines worked out by the Committee for National Alphabets. From 1937 on, the latter alphabets were in turn replaced by the Russian alphabet, with the letter l added to render glottalic consonants (only Abkhaz adds certain other letters). The following list states for each language which alphabet was officially used at different times (-1924: until 1924; 1924-:from 1924 on; CNA: Committee for National Alphabets).

Caucasian Languages

Abazin	1932-:	Latin; 1937-: Russian
Abkhaz	-1924:	Russian (Uslar's adaptation); 1924-: Marr's Japhetic transcription; 1929-: Latin CNA; 1937-: Georgian; 1954-: Russian
Adyge	-1926:	Arabic; 1926-: Latin; 1937-: Russian
Avar	-1928:	Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian

Caucasian Languages (continued)

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Chechen	-1925:	Arabic; 1925-: Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian
Dargwa	-1928:	Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian
Georgian		National alphabet
Ingush	-1923:	Arabic; 1923-: Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian
Kabardian	-1923:	Arabic; 1923-: Latin (not CNA); 1928-:Latin CNA;1937: Russian (first adaptation); 1938-:Russian (final adaptation)
Lak	-1928:	Arabic; 1928-:Latin; 1937-: Russian
Lezgin	-1928:	Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian
Tabasaran	-1931:	Latin; 1937-: Russian

Non-Indigenous Languages

Aisor	-1930:	Russian and Latin; 1930-: Latin
Armenian		National alphabet
Azeri	-1922:	Arabic; 1922-:Latin (revised 1928); 1940-:Russian
Kalmyk	1648-1927:	National alphabet; 1927-: Russian; 1930-: Latin; 1938-: Russian
Karachay-Balkar	-1924:	Arabic; 1924- Latin; 1937-: Russian

●212 Non-Indigenous Languages (continued)

Kumuk	-1927:	Arabic; 1927-: Latin; 1937-: Russian
Kurdish		Occasional publications in Arabic and Latin script
Noghay	-1928:	Arabic; 1928-: Latin; 1937-: Russian
Ossete	-1923:	Russian; 1923- Latin (not CNA); 1937-: Russian (in North Ossetian ASSR) and Georgian (in South Ossetian AO)
Tat	-1929:	Hebrew; 1929-: Latin; 1937-: Russian

As a result of general compulsory education, the large majority of the speakers of Caucasian languages are literate in the official language of their district. It must be noted, however, that many persons have not kept up with the changes in alphabets and are literate only in the Arabic and/or Latin script.

191 As to the speakers of non-literary languages, the Ando-Dido peoples and the speakers of Archi and Tsakhur in Dagestan use Avar as a literary language. The Paleocaucasian speakers in the Azerbaidjan SSR use Azeri as a literary language, as do the Talysh. In general, Russian is the lingua franca in the North-Western and Central Caucasus; in Dagestan this role is played in the West by Avar, in the East, north of Derbent by Kumuk, south of Derbent by Azeri.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl
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from London through Russia, Germany and Holland, to which are added the revolutions of Persia during the present century, with the particular history of the great usurper Nadir Kouli (London, 1753).

(9) **1775—1850.** In this period not only does the ethnographical material begin to increase and reach considerable proportions but the investigations carried out by the authors are scientific in nature. Actual fieldwork is being done. The writers are therefore no longer mere casual travellers but fieldworkers in the strictest sense. Although the method and scholarship of these explorers does not come up to that of modern ethnographers, their works have a special value because they are the products of expeditions prior to the rapid modern acculturation. The first scientific expedition was undertaken by Professor Güldenstädt at the request of the Empress of Russia to penetrate the wild regions of Caucasus, to classify the peoples (her subjects) according to their languages and to study the natural history of the land. The results of Güldenstädt's fieldwork were published in several books, *Beschreibung der kaukasischen Länder* (Berlin, 1834), *Reisen durch Rußland und im kaukasischen Gebirge* (St. Petersburg, 1787), *Reisen nach Georgien und Imerethi* (Berlin, 1815). Soon afterwards some excellent works of travel and some purely scientific works appeared, such as those of Reineggs, Pallas, Steder, Klaproth, Bodenstedt, Dubois de Montpéreux, Longworth, Spencer, Neuman and Wagner.

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(10) **1850—1920.** The Caucasians are still analphabetic except for the Georgians and Armenians, and are unaffected by modern civilization. This is a period of much travel and good field work, e. g., by Radde, Hahn, Erckert, Abercromby, and others. Several large series of periodicals devoted exclusively to the study of the Caucasus are published.[65] Valuable collections of customary laws *(adats)* made—to mention only *Adaty kavkazskich gorcev*, a collection of customary laws which we shall have endless opportunity to cite. In a word this is a productive period.

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(11) **Soviet Caucasus, Caucasology Today.** Considerable progress has been made in the last decades. In linguistics, for example, if we compare Güldenstädt's or Pallas' first attempts with the results attained by Erckert and then if we compare Erckert's achievements with those of the great geniuses like Professor Marr, Prince Trubeskoj and Adolf Dirr, we must say the progress is gratifying. Although Erckert's linguistic contributions contain countless and very serious errors, his work by far surpasses those of Güldenstädt and Pallas, but again compared with modern linguists Erckert is hardly anything more than an untrained amateur. Although the advance made in Caucasian linguistics must be attributed mainly to the work done by the Soviet scholars, such capable linguists as Dirr, Bleichsteiner, Deeters, Dumézil and the contributors to the *Caucasica* must not be overlooked.

Greater progress has been made in prehistory than in any other branch of Caucasology. The activity of the Marr School and Hančar's unparalleled work, *Urgeschichte Kaukasiens* are sufficient evidence of the advance made in this field.

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[65] See *infra* pp. 33 f.

8: Lužbetak E-4 (no date) 1951 RHl Caucasia RHl

indeed love my mother; but I must also punish the person who suggested surrender. Take my mother therefore, and punish her, punish her with one stroke and give me the remaining 39." This is a story every North Caucasian Mohammedan has heard again and again.

§ 7. EDUCATION

With the coming of Mohammedanism the method of education in the Caucasus was revolutionized. In many places throughout North Caucasus and especially in Daghestan, a new educator was introduced, the mullah. Till then, the *home* was the only "school" and the parents (or foster-parents) the only educators.[80] The subject matter of these Mohammedan schools[81] was, as usual, limited to the study of Arabic and the Koran and Islamic tradition, at times taught by very poorly educated mullahs.[82]

The second important innovation came with the Russians,[83] but especially with the Soviets. Only the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijani had an alphabet in pre-Soviet times.[84] The Soviets immediately realized the necessity of an alphabet for each language, without which the spread of Marxism would be impossible. In 1928 about 40 per cent of the Chechens received formal schooling, while only a very few isolated mountain villages had no school at all.[85] In the mountain of Daghestan the illiteracy is still very great. According to statistics of 1926 only about 10 per cent of the men and 1 per cent of the women can read. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that progress has been made among these mountain peoples too.[86] Today there are enough Lesghians who are able to read to make Russian, Kumykian, Lak, and Avarian newspapers possible.[87] The Lesghian children receive instructions in their mother-tongue only in the first two years at school; after that they must learn either Kumykian or Russian. In secondary schools both languages are obligatory.[88]

As for home education, a few general remarks will suffice. The education of little children and of all unmarried girls is the task of the mother; the education of the boys is the task of the father.[89] The little children are told to behave

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[80] Cf. K. N. Rossikov, "Poězdka v Čečnju i Nagornyj Dagestan," ZKO, XIII (1884), p. 249.

[81] A. Zacharov, "Narodnoe obučenie u Zakavkazskich Tatar," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 7—51; Mir-Galim-bek Vezirov, "O Tatarskich Školach," SMOMPK, IX (1890), No. 2, pp. 1—6; A. Omarov, "Vospominanija mutaallima," SSKG, I, pp. 13—20; II, pp. 46—70.

[82] Cf. Halil Beg Mussayassul for a description of his schooling in *Das Land der letzten Ritter*, pp. 52—56.

[83] "O rasprostranenii gramotnosti meždu gorcami," SSKG, III (1870), pp. 1—30. The main object of pre-Soviet education was to teach a sufficient number of natives the Russian language.

[84] Of course some attempts had been made before the Revolution. Fifteen years after the Revolution all North Caucasians had a written language. The Latin script was used as foundation for the Cherkess, Abaz, Chechen, Karachai, Balkarian, Avar, Dargwa, Kurin, Lak, Tabassaran, Kumykian, Nogai, and Tat languages. Cf. G. P. Serdjučenko, "Jazyki Severnogo Kavkaza i Dagestana," *Sbornik lingvističeskich issledovanij*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p. 7.

[85] Plötschke, *Die Tschetschenen*, p. vii.

[86] R. Kherumian, "Contribution à l'Anthropologie du Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, LII (1948), No. 1—2, p. 44.

[87] Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[88] *ibid.*

[89] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 200.